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"THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS AND THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

A COMPARATIVE STUDY"

by



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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled

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## Abstract

The Germania of Tacitus contains many remarks which indicate criticism of Roman society. The Satires of Juvenal express some of the same sentiments. This study is an attempt to isolate and compare the similar way in which certain themes are treated, although the literary purpose of both works is quite different. A discussion of satire reveals that, while themes such as luxuria, legacy hunting, and the vices of women are typical of the genre, Tacitus, as an historian, and Juvenal, as a rhetorical satirist, handle them in a fashion which is peculiar to the political, literary, and cultural milieu which they experienced as contemporaries. Indeed, their mutual denunciation of the tyrannical nature of the principate and the subsequent loss of free speech, hitherto not a commonplace of satire, suggests that a comparative study of the aforementioned topoi, and other, such as pureness of race, slavery, and the corrupt nature of Rome, may reveal interesting parallels in the views of these two authors.





### Acknowledgements

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## Introduction

The purpose of Tacitus in writing the Germania has been much debated. The work has been considered to be a geographical-ethnographical treatise on the Germans, and as a preparatory essay to his larger work, the Histories, perhaps intended to be inserted in them. Or, it has been considered a political pamphlet, intended to urge Trajan, at that time occupied on the Rhine, to beware of the strength of this free race, or else to justify to those in Rome the necessity of the new emperor's presence at and attention to such a critical point on the frontier. One further view is that the Germania is an ethical, satirical work intended to impress upon the Romans the corruptness of their civilization by contrast with the Germans who possessed a number of laudable qualities which the author admired.<sup>1</sup> Given these purposes, Tacitus could not or perhaps would not refrain in his description from explicit or implied contrasts with his own civilization. For example, after discussing the

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of Tacitus' purpose in the Germania see R. Syme, Tacitus, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), I, 48, 128 and 129, who regards the Germania as an ethnographical treatise, not a political pamphlet and feels that it would be misleading to regard it as an introduction to the Histories. See also H. Furneaux, Cornelii Taciti de Germania, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), who in his introduction feels that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant a satisfactory conclusion as to the purpose of the work. A. Gudeman, Tacitus, Agricola and Germania, (Boston and Chicago: Allyn and Bacon, 1899), xxxix-xlvi, concludes that the Germania was merely an ethnological-geographical monograph.





chastity of German women in Germania 19 and noting that adultery is rare and birth control criminal among the Germans, Tacitus tartly remarks:

plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.<sup>1</sup>

Or again, in Germania 20, Tacitus' final statement after he says that the Germans have no will and that the larger the family, the greater the influence of the man, is that there is no reward for childlessness (nec ulla orbitatis pretia).

Juvenal, too, in his Satires, seems to have been concerned with similar social criticism. His flagrant denunciation of adulterous women of the upper classes and their shunning of their role as mothers, as described in Satire vi, led him to such aphorisms as,

sed iacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto. (Sat.vi.594)

Another stock theme of satirists, legacy hunting is satirized by Juvenal in Satire xii.93 ff. as well as in other Satires.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>All quotations from Juvenal and Tacitus will be from the Oxford editions as indicated in the bibliography. All quotations from Tacitus' major works will cite the book, chapter, and line, but from the minor works, the chapter and sentence.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. p.27 , where legacy hunting is discussed more fully.





My purpose is to investigate the extent to which the remarks of Tacitus on Roman society in the Germania, are similar or dissimilar to those of Juvenal in the Satires. First, I shall discuss the limited knowledge we have of the lives and background of these two authors in order to place them as far as is possible in their true historical context. Secondly, I shall study and isolate the appropriate remarks in the Germania, and then attempt to locate analogous remarks in the other works of Tacitus, the Agricola, Dialogus, Histories, and Annals. This latter step is designed to ascertain whether the remarks made by Tacitus in the Germania about his society are truly representative of his views on Roman civilization.

Juvenal's comments in the Satires on corresponding themes will subsequently be investigated and noted, and their similarity to Tacitus' remarks considered. I shall proceed topic by topic, placing side-by-side for comparison Tacitus' statements from the Germania, Tacitus' relevant statements from the other works, and then Juvenal's remarks from the Satires. A short discussion of certain terms or phrases which occur in both the Germania and the Satires will be included in an appendix.



## Chapter I : Juvenal and Tacitus

Roman satire was a genre which was long established by the time Juvenal began to write his Satires and Tacitus his ethnographical treatise on the Germans which is tinged with satire.

The Latin term satura, from satur (full) means a medley composed of different things and, in his description of early Roman drama, Livy mentions (7.2) saturae which were semi-dramatic medleys of songs, music and dance.<sup>1</sup> Roman literary satire was influenced by the diatribes of the Cynics and Stoics, Athenian Old Comedy and the philosophic satire of Menippus.<sup>2</sup> It is defined by Diomedes:<sup>3</sup>

Satura dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae caractere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius. sed olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satura vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.

Horace regarded Ennius (230-169 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> as the originator (auctor) of Roman satire, which was a genre peculiar to the Romans,<sup>5</sup> and Gaius Lucilius (180-c.102 B.C.) as the founder (inventor) of Roman satire.<sup>6</sup> Lucilius settled on the hexameter verse, and used his

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<sup>1</sup>C.A. Van Rooy, Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), p.33.

<sup>2</sup>OCD: satura.

<sup>3</sup>Ars Grammatica,iii.30-34, quoted in Van Rooy, op.cit., as locus classicus.

<sup>4</sup>The dates for the satirists are taken from the OCD.

<sup>5</sup>rudos et Graecis intacti carminis auctor, Horace, Sat.i.10.66; satura tota nostra est. Quintilian, x.1.93.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. 48.





poems to attack contemporary society, naming his victims. Four books of Saturae<sup>1</sup> as well as 150 books of Saturae Menippeae<sup>2</sup> were written by Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.), the latter works being medley in prose and verse. Horace (65-8 B.C.) entitled his satires Sermones (Conversations) and his tone was less biting than that of Lucilius. The Menippean medley continued in the Apocolocyntosis of Seneca (4-65 A.D.) and in the Satyricon of Petronius (d. 66 A.D.)! Stoicism coloured the six Satires of Persius (34-62 A.D.). Juvenal's sixteen Satires stand at the end of a line of Roman satirical writing which covered some three hundred years.

Juvenal rejects the other literary forms, epic, drama, elegy (Sat.i.1-14) and their mythological themes<sup>3</sup>, and adopts the art form established by Lucilius (Auruncae ... alumnus, Sat.i.20), recognizing material for such themes as Horace utilized (haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna, Sat.i.51). His training in the rhetorical schools (Sat.i.15-16) gave his writing its highly rhetorical colour and his burning wrath at seeing the vices, follies, and inequities around him inspired him to compose (facit indignatio versum, Sat.i.79). However, Juvenal acknowledges the fact that he cannot attack living personalities as had Lucilius:

ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens  
infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens est  
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa (Sat.i.165-7),

and he announces that he will restrict his censure to the dead (Sat.i, 170-1).

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<sup>1</sup>Van Rooy, op.cit., 55-56.

<sup>2</sup>Aulus Gellius, N.A., ii.18.7;

<sup>3</sup>Juvenal feels that he should not write on mythological themes when he sees around him so much to satirize. (Sat.i.55 ff).



Roman satire was early defined as an abusive poem composed to point up the weaknesses of society.<sup>1</sup> The Germania of Tacitus, however, is not a satire<sup>2</sup>. Rather it belongs to the genre of ethnographical writing<sup>3</sup> which, too, had a long tradition. It does contain satirical phrases which Tacitus employs in order to point up a contrast with conditions in his own society. Many of Tacitus' satirical comments are typical of themes common to satirists. These include attacks on the luxury of the age<sup>4</sup>, particularly in dining habits<sup>5</sup>; attacks on avarice<sup>6</sup>; on the vices of women<sup>7</sup>; and on legacy hunting<sup>8</sup>, all of which were also treated by Juvenal.

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<sup>1</sup>satura dicitur ... maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia, Diomedes, Ars Grammatica iii.30-31.

<sup>2</sup>C. Mendell, Tacitus, The Man and His Work, (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1957), p.27, states that more than one critic has put the Germania in the category of satiric writing and believes that its chief object was to show the contrast between the degenerate Roman and the noble savage. The noble savage was not a new theme, and was described by way of contrast to the writer's own society; the Scythians are idealized and contrasted to the writer's contemporaries: e.g. Strabo vii.300-302; Horace, Odes, iii.24.1-32. Lovejoy and Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), pp. 288 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Syme, Tac., I.125-6.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. Persius, Sat.v.142: sollers Luxuria.

<sup>5</sup>Varro, Menipp. 403, 404; Lucilius v.200-207; Persius, Sat.iii.109-114.

<sup>6</sup>Horace, Sat.i.4.25 ff; Persius, Sat.ii.44 ff; v.132 ff; Lucilius, xv.530.

<sup>7</sup>Varro, Menipp.83: vitium uxoris aut tollendum aut ferendum est; Luc.v.251.

<sup>8</sup>Petronius, Satyricon 116; Horace, Sat.ii.5.



One theme treated by Tacitus and Juvenal which is not a topos of satire is freedom of speech and the tyrannical nature of the principate. Their deep concern with this theme must undoubtedly stem from their first-hand knowledge of the troubled age through which they both lived. The two authors had lived through Domitian's reign of terror and shortly after his death in 96 A.D. both writers began to publish. The Agricola appeared in 96 A.D.; the earliest reference in the Satires is to the trial of Marius Priscus in 100.

Turning to the lives of the men themselves, very little, in fact is known with certainty about the lives of Juvenal and Tacitus, and many details are open to speculation. We do know that they were contemporaries. Juvenal was born about 60 A.D.<sup>1</sup>, or even as late as 67 A.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Tacitus in 56 or 57 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Gallia Narbonensis<sup>4</sup> was

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<sup>1</sup>G. H. Huet, Juvenal the Satirist, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p.5, reckons from the historical allusions in the first book of the Satires, and from the fact that Juvenal, when he begins to write, speaks of his youth as being in the past (Sat.i.25).

<sup>2</sup>Syme, Tac., II.774-5, feels that the two consular dates mentioned by Juvenal, 67 (Sat. xiii.17) and 127 (Sat.xv.27), are significant since the former would coincide with that of his birth and the latter with that of his sixtieth birthday.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.I,63; II,652-3. Tacitus states that his dignitas was a Tito aucta (Hist.i.1.14-15), indicating the quaestorship, normally attained at age 25. His praetorship in 88 (Ann.xi. 11.6-7) would come at age 31.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.II,798. Tacitus' cognomen suggests an origin in northern Italy or Narbonensis, and his connection with Agricola who was born in Forum Julii (Agr.4.1) lends weight to this supposition.





perhaps the home of Tacitus. He appears to emphasize that there were distinguished men from Gallia Narbonensis, as well as other provinces, who went to Rome, as seen in the following excerpt from a speech of the Emperor Claudius:

nam paenitet Balbos ex Hispania nec minus insignis viros  
e Gallia Narbonensi transivisse? (Ann.xi.24.14-16)

Juvenal's origin is obscure. The following inscription<sup>1</sup> indicates that a Iuvenalis was commander of a cohort of Dalmatians and a flamen of the deified Vespasian:

CERE RI SACRVM  
D. IuNIVS IVVENALIS  
trib.Coh i DELMATARVM  
II VIR QVINQ FLAMEN  
DIVI VESPASIANI  
VOVIT DEDICAVITqVE  
SVA PEC

perhaps the Juvenal in the preceding inscription was the satirist or possibly a member of his family. The connection of the inscription which was found at Aquinum and the poet is reinforced by a mention in the Satires that Juvenal has an estate at Aquinum.

et quotiens te  
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino. (Sat.iii.318-319)

Juvenal appears to laud conditions outside Rome<sup>2</sup> and I would use this fact as possible evidence that he came from rural Italy.

Both authors came to Rome to pursue their careers. Tacitus was in Rome at least by 75 while still a youth (iuvenis admodum, Dial.1.2) observing established orators (Dial.1.3).

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<sup>1</sup>CIL.10.5382, quoted in G.Highet, op.cit., p.32.

<sup>2</sup>Sat.iii.171-179; ii.73-4.



Juvenal is thought to have come to Rome at approximately the same time as his contemporaries, Tacitus and Pliny.<sup>1</sup> He attended the rhetorical schools, and, as he states:

et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos  
consilium dedimus Sullae (Sat.i.15-16),

and perhaps may even have attended Quintilian's school.<sup>2</sup> The professor of rhetoric is certainly known to Juvenal and is mentioned sardonically four times in the Satires. The first mention<sup>3</sup> recalls Quintilian's marriage to a young girl when he is old enough to be her father. Secondly, Quintilian is called upon to defend a wife caught in adultery by her husband,

dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem. (Sat.vi.280)

The last two references reveal Juvenal's bitterness at the felix orator and those who received advancements as favours while he himself perhaps did not.

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<sup>1</sup>W. S. Anderson, "Lascivia vs. ira: Martial and Juvenal", CSCA., III (1970), 4.

<sup>2</sup>G. Highet, op.cit., p.238. L. Herrman, "Comment Quintilien a loué Juvenal", Latomus, XI (1952), 451-3, considers Quintilian, x.1.94: Sunt (sc.scriptores saturae) clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur, to be a reference to Juvenal. I feel that this statement is entirely plausible.

<sup>3</sup>Sat.vi.75: an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur?





hos inter sumptus sesterfia Quintiliano,  
ut multum, duo sufficient ... (Sat.vii.186-7)  
... 'unde igitur tot  
Quintilianus habet saltus?' (Sat.vii.188-9)

If Tacitus was in Rome in 75 A.D. he also might have been a pupil of Quintilian who gained the chair of rhetoric under Vespasian and retired after twenty years of teaching, about 90 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Quintilian's most famous pupil was a friend of Tacitus, Pliny.<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus states that his career began under Vespasian (Hist.i.1.14) who granted him the latus clavus.<sup>3</sup> In 77 A.D. he was betrothed to the daughter of Julius Agricola and married her the following year (Agr.9.7). He was quaestor in 81 or 82 A.D.<sup>4</sup>, and praetor in 88 A.D. as well as a member of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis (Ann.xi.11.5 ff.). Tacitus early gained a reputation as a speaker<sup>5</sup>, as seen in Pliny's remark:

Equidem adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres,  
te sequi, tibi 'longo sed proximus intervallo' et esse et  
haberi concupiscebam. (Ep.vii.20.4)

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<sup>1</sup>G. Kennedy, Quintilian, (New York: Twayne, 1969), p.24;  
Hieronymus, Chronicles on 88 A.D.; Quint. Inst.i.pr.1.

<sup>2</sup>Ep.ii.14.9 and vi.6.3.

<sup>3</sup>Syme, Tac.I,63. His dignitas began under Vespasian (Hist.i.1.14).

<sup>4</sup>Syme, Tac.I,65. Hist.i.1.14-15.

<sup>5</sup>Syme, Tac.i.66. Tacitus became quindecimvir early in his career indicating high favour.



Tacitus was absent from Rome from 89 A.D. until after Agricola's death in 93 A.D. (Agr.45.5). As consul in 97 A.D. he delivered the funeral oration in honour of Verginius Rufus.<sup>1</sup> Both Pliny and Tacitus joined in the prosecution of Marius Priscus<sup>2</sup> in 100 A.D., an event referred to by Juvenal (Sat.i.49-50).

The only contemporary author to mention Juvenal is Martial. Martial, at a time when he was in Rome publishing, c.91-92 A.D., addresses two poems to Juvenal, Ep. vii.24 and vii.91. From the two poems a friendship between Martial and Juvenal can be inferred, and Juvenal is referred to as facundus.<sup>3</sup> In Epigram xii.18, which was sent from Spain in 101 A.D., Martial contrasts his quiet country life with Juvenal's frantic life in Rome.<sup>4</sup> It thus seems reasonable to assume that Juvenal was in Rome on the publication dates of Martial's first two poems, Ep.vii.24 and vii.91, and was engaged in literary work, or in some such pursuit to warrant the title facundus.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Syme, Tac.I,70; Pliny, Ep. ii.1.6: laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito.

<sup>2</sup>Pliny, Ep.ii.11.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. vii.91.1.

<sup>4</sup>G. Highet, "The Life of Juvenal", TAPA, LXVII (1937), 488-9.

<sup>5</sup>One detail from the Vitae states: ad mediam fere aetate declamavit. He attended literary recitations (Sat.i.1 ff. ) and may have been at Statius' recitation of his Thebaid in 92 A.D. (Sat.vii.82-4): J. Martyn, Friedlander's Essays on Juvenal, (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1969), p.12.



In 101 A.D. he was living as a client:

Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras  
clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura  
aut collem dominae teris Dianae;  
dum per limina te potentiorum  
sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque  
maior Caelius et minor fatigat (Martial, Ep.xii.18.1-6),

and feeling the client's life and poverty very keenly.<sup>1</sup>

As has been pointed out above,<sup>2</sup> Tacitus early established his reputation as an orator. If we read Pliny literally, Tacitus also considered himself to be an author of some renown:

'nosti me, et quidem ex studiis' ...  
' Tacitus es an Plinius?' (Pliny, Ep.ix.23.3)

Juvenal was aware of Tacitus as an orator and historian. He mentions the Priscus trial (Sat.i.49) and sarcastically notes a portrait of Otho in a recent history:

ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,  
Actoris Aurunci spoliū, quo se ille videbat  
armatum, cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet.  
res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti  
historia, speculum civilibus sarcina belli.  
(Sat.ii.99-103)

The history is generally considered to be that of Tacitus.<sup>3</sup>

Characters from the Annals of Tacitus also appear in the Satires, e.g. Sejanus, Bruttidius, Lateranus, Messalina, leading scholars to various conclusions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> as seen in Satire v.

<sup>2</sup> p.10.

<sup>3</sup> Syme, Tac.II,776: "That designation of the Historiae would remain valid for some years." Cf. Pliny, Ep.vii.33.1: historias tuas immortales futuras.

<sup>4</sup> Hight, Juv. the Sat., p.116, feels that several characters in the Satires were inspired by the Annals. J. Beaujeau, "Le mare rubrum de Tacite". REL. XXXVII (1960), 235 n.1: Tacitus recalls Juvenal, not Juvenal Tacitus. Syme, Tac., II,777: "Some characters may suggest that Tacitus has been drawn upon."





Juvenal was also aware of the literary and family circle of Tacitus. The name Hispulla which he mentions (Sat.vi.74 and xii.11), is also the name of two relatives of Tacitus' friend, Pliny.<sup>1</sup> Juvenal's mention of the Priscus trial may be a literary reference to Pliny's Letters.<sup>2</sup> Agricola's campaigns in Britain<sup>3</sup> are mentioned by Juvenal in Sat.ii.159-161:

arma quidem ultra  
litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas  
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos,<sup>4</sup>

in a context where Juvenal points up the corruption at Rome in contrast to the uncorrupted non-Romans (Sat.ii.162-3).

In summary then, although few definite details are known about the lives of Juvenal and Tacitus, the men were contemporaries, who may have arrived in Rome at approximately the same time. Martial's Epigrams indicate that Juvenal was in Rome shortly before and shortly after the publication date of the Germania. Tacitus, according to the testimony of Pliny, was a distinguished senator, orator and historian. Both men, therefore, were in Rome and publishing at approximately the same time, and both had experienced Domitian's reign of terror.

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<sup>1</sup>Syme, Tac.II,777.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.; Ep.ii.11.

<sup>3</sup>Juvenal may have had a share in these campaigns; Martyn, op.cit., p.13.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Agr.10.5: ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque; 12.3: nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis.



## Chapter II : Social Criticism

The themes most commonly treated by Roman satirists are: luxury, avarice, gluttony, women, legacy hunting and morals generally,<sup>1</sup> and many of these themes can be found in the Germania and the Satires.

### i. Purenness of Race

In the Germania, after a preliminary sketch of the geography of the region, Tacitus makes as his first point the fact that the Germans are indigenous and very little mingled with other races:

ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque  
aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos.  
(Germ.2.1)

The above point Tacitus gives as his own considered opinion (crediderim). Again, two chapters later, he returns to the same idea - that the Germans are contaminated by intermarriage with no other races, that they are a gens sincera. He supports this statement by his own belief as before, as well as by the opinions of others.

Ipsae eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae  
populos nullis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos  
propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem  
extitisse arbitrantur. (Germ.4.1)

In addition, in his closing chapter he describes the Peucini as being defiled or polluted (foedantur) to some extent by intermarriage with the Sarmatians (Germ.46.1). Thus Tacitus begins and ends his Germania with the thought, which would appear to be foremost in his mind, that the pureness of the German race was an outstanding characteristic.

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<sup>1</sup>See above, p. 6.





The result of this pureness of the German race, says Tacitus  
(Germ.4.1,2), is a homogeneous physique,

unde habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum  
numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi,  
rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.  
(Germ.4.2)

As well, the whole race of Germans is viewed by Tacitus as speaking  
a common language<sup>1</sup> (Germ.45.2, 46.1), another aspect of racial  
distinctiveness. Tacitus does not know whether to call the Peucini  
Germans or Sarmatians, but with respect to their language they are  
closer to the Germans (Germ.46.1); the Aestii have the religions and  
customs of the Suebi, but their tongue resembles that of the Britons  
(Germ.45.2). <sup>2</sup>

That pureness of race is to be highly regarded can be inferred  
elsewhere in Tacitus' works: the Armenians, closer to the Parthians  
since they intermarried with them (conubiis permixti), were ignorant  
of liberty and inclining towards servitude (Ann.xiii.34.17-19).  
The fact that the Roman army is made up of very different races  
(ex diversissimis gentibus) militates against its strength (Agr.32.1).  
In Rome a debate on the question of whether people of Gallia Comata  
should be allowed to hold magistracies at Rome reflects racial prejudice:

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<sup>1</sup>H. Furneaux, op.cit., p.16.

<sup>2</sup>Strabo felt that the Romans called them Germani (genuine, pure,  
to denote that they were genuine Galatae (Geogr. vii.1.2).



the senators feel that,

suffecisse olim indigenas consanguineis populis nec  
paenitere veteris rei publicae; (Ann.xi.23.7-9)

they do not wish to admit throngs of foreigners as if they were  
captives (coetus alienigenarum velut captivitas, ibid.12).

Juvenal mentions the same notable physical characteristics of the  
Germans as does Tacitus. The Germans' "blue eyes and golden hair"  
are seen in

caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam  
caesariem (Sat.xiii.164-5),

and the huge bodies (magna corpora) of the Germans appear in  
Juvenal's mention of the Cimbri routed by Marius,

qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi. (Sat.viii.252)

But even more significantly, Juvenal remarks that the loss of the  
pureness of the Roman race is lamentable, and has brought corruption:  
long since has the Syrian Orontes been flowing into the Tiber and  
bringing with it its language, habits, music, and prostitutes  
(Sat.iii.62-5). Foreign purple brought crime:

peregrina ignotaque nobis  
ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit,  
(Sat.xiv.187-8)

The freedman, who was born by the Euphrates and whose pierced ears  
were in clear view, having come recently to the city with whitened  
feet, sign of the slave market, is admitted before the Troiugena  
(Sat.i.99f.) in the line-up for the dole before the patron's door.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Musurillo, "Juvenal: the Critic With a Smirk" in Symbol and Myth in Ancient Poetry, (New York: Fordham U.P., 1961), p. 170, sees Juvenal's mention of the violation of native tufa (nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum, Sat.iii.20), as a suggestion that Rome's ancient mores and traditions are violated by the influx of foreign blood.



Crispinus is called a native of Canopus, one of the common folk of the Nile (cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi, Sat.i.26). Thus Juvenal too sees the strength of a race stemming from its pureness.

Juvenal is particularly distressed<sup>1</sup> by the Greek element in Rome, as seen in:

non possum ferre, Quirites,  
Graecam urbem. quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?  
(Sat.iii.60-1),

and in:

despicias tu]  
forsitan inbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon  
despicias merito: quid resinata inventus  
cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?  
(Sat viii.112-115)

Juvenal bristles when he hears Greek spoken (Sat.vi.187-190) and tells his dinner guest to make his request in Latin (cum posces, posce Latine, Sat.xi.148). Tacitus, too, refers disparagingly to the Greeks; Piso calls the Athenians the dregs of nations (conluviem illam nationum, Ann.ii.55.5);<sup>2</sup> Tacitus contrasts Roman standards and arms to Greek idle and licentious habits:

mox donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum modum,  
desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebat. (Hist.iii.47.10-12)

In certain instances both authors use the form Graeculus<sup>3</sup> with its

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<sup>1</sup>A.N. Sherwin-White, Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome, (Cambridge: Cambridge P., 1967), p.75: "This prejudice has a long paternity, stretching back to the first Cato and his dislike of all things Greek."

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Tacitus' other uses of conluviem: Hist.ii.16.21; Ann!xiv.15; 44.14.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Pliny's use of the term Graeculus; in a tone lacking contempt: gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi, Ep.10.40.2; in a contemptuous tone: Paneg.13.5: Graeculus magister. Sherwin-White, op.cit., p.76.





frequently uncomplimentary overtone:

nam quid rancidius quam quod se non putat ulla  
formosam nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est,  
de Sulmonensi mera Cecropis? (Sat.vi.185-7)

At nunc natus infans delegatur Graceulae alicui  
ancillae ... (Dial.29.1)

id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina  
Graeculorum fabulis adgregares(Dial.3.4)

Both authors reflect in the language they use the sentiment that  
the dregs of mankind flocked to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Compare the following:

quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei? (Sat.iii.61)

sed per urbem etiam quo cuncta undique atrocia aut  
pudenda confluunt celebranturque. (Ann.xv.44.16-17)

undique ad illos  
convenient et carpentis et navibus omnes  
qui digito scalpunt uno caput. (Sat.ix.131-3)

In summary, Tacitus makes special note of the pureness of the  
German race, inferring that this pureness contributes to the virtues  
of the Germans. In Tacitus' other works, there is evidence that he  
considers the adulteration of a race to be undesirable. Juvenal  
disapproves of the foreign element in Rome and particularly  
detests eastern influences. He attributes to alien infiltration into  
Rome the cause of the decline of ancient republican mores (Sat.iii.  
62-5; xiv.187-8).

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<sup>1</sup>This was, of course, a frequently expressed sentiment. See D.C. Earl,  
The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome, (Ithaca: Cornell U.P., 1967)  
pp.76-77: "It had been the fashion at least from the time of Cicero  
to describe Rome as a bilge, sink or cesspool into which flowed  
all that was most depraved and corrupt from Italy and the provinces."



## ii. Luxuria

### a) Acquisitive Men

One of the most outstanding virtues of the Germans which Tacitus praises is the fact that they are not affected by the possession of wealth. He implies that the Romans are influenced by silver and gold when he says of the Germans:

argentum et aurum propitiine an irati dii negaverint  
dubito ... possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur.<sup>1</sup>  
(Germ.5.3)

Silver vases may be seen among the Germans, gifts to their envoys or chieftain, but these are considered by them to be of no more value than earthenware (Germ.5.4). The interior tribes employ the old-fashioned barter system, and the tribes nearer the Rhine use Roman coins, preferring silver to gold coins since the value of silver coins more closely matches their purchases of cheap goods (Germ.5.4-5). The Germans were unconcerned about the amber they possessed which lay at sea, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen (Germ.45.5), and were even surprised to receive a price for it. The boys, who provide the Germans with their sole form of entertainment by leaping between swords and spears, give their performance neither for gain, nor fee (non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem, Germ.24.2).

Tacitus elsewhere comments on Roman desire for wealth and the manner in which the Romans were affected by it. Its precious metals make Britain worth conquering:

Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia  
metallam pretium victoriae. (Agr.12.6)

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<sup>1</sup>Note his term haud perinde: not in the same manner as one would expect.



One of the many discussions in the senate reported by Tacitus in the Annals involves two consulars denouncing extravagance during the reign of Tiberius. It is decreed that gold plate is not to be used for private entertainments, and that silk clothes are no longer to degrade men. Further restrictions on silver plate, furniture and slaves are added (Ann.ii.33.1-5). Extravagance is again the subject raised in the senate on another occasion, and the matter is referred to the emperor who remarks:

quid enim primum prohibere et priscum ad morem recidere  
adgrediar? villarumne infinita spatia? familiarum  
numerus et nationes? argenti et auri pondus? aeris  
tabularumque miracula? promiscas viris et feminis vestis  
atque illa feminarum propria, quis lapidum causa pecuniae  
nostrae ad externas aut hostilis gentis transferuntur?  
(Ann.iii.53.15-21)

Juvenal, too, sees Romans as being obsessed by the possession of wealth. Umbricius, resolved to leave Rome since he cannot make an honest living there, bewails the fact that money makes the man:

protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet  
quaestio. "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri  
iugera? quam multa magnaue paropside cenat?"  
quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,  
tantum habet et fidei. (Sat.iii.140-144)

In his first Satire, Juvenal resents the fact that money replaces birth or social rank (Sat.i.102-111) and notes the exalted position of wealth among Romans:

quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum  
maiestas, etsi funesta Pecunia templo  
nondum habitat, nullas nummorum ereximus aras.  
(Sat.i.112-114)

A first instance of Juvenal apostrophising "money" and a second example of him personifying it can be seen in his fifth Satire in which he moralizes on the abuses a client endures at his patron's table. The client would be respected as the patron's equal if he





were moneyed, and Juvenal exclaims:

... O nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,  
vos estis frater. (Sat.v.136-7)<sup>1</sup>

In Juvenal's day the arts were not flourishing, due to the lack of patronage (Sat.vii.1 ff.). The satirist soon focuses in this Satire on the materialistic influences: a lawyer is hired on the basis of his outward appearance and even a Cicero would gain no fee if he were not wearing a great ring. Juvenal's sentiments on this theme produced such sententiae as

causidicum, vendunt amethystina (Sat.vii.136)      purpura vendit

and,

rara in tenui facundia panno. (Sat.vii.145)

Explaining that men do not know what is in their best interests  
to pray for, Juvenal sees riches as the main object of prayers:

prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis  
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto  
nostra sit arca foro. (Sat.x.23-25)

The philosopher Democritus found occasion for laughter in men of his own day, but how much more amused would he have been, says Juvenal (Sat.x.33-46), had he seen Roman magistrates with their pompous attire: purple-bordered togas, litters and fasces. Juvenal's friend, Catullus, acted in a most unusual manner by throwing overboard his expensive merchandise when he was caught in a shipwreck (Sat.xii. 37-47). The Romans' preoccupation with material objects is further demonstrated by Juvenal's remark,

<sup>1</sup> Note also the wife on a spending-spree in Sat.vi.149-157, and material possessions winning confidence in Sat. vii.124-136.



sed quis nunc alius, qua mundi parte quis audet  
argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem? (Sat. xii.48-9)

Haranguing his reader on avarice, Juvenal states:

lucri bonus est odor ex re  
qualibet, (Sat.xiv.204-5)

and sarcastically gives the following quotation as a maxim to be kept on one's lips:

"unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere".  
(Sat.xiv.207)

As Tacitus admires the Germans' indifference to the silver vases which were given as gifts to their leaders (Germ.5.4) so Juvenal expresses admiration for the soldiers of the early Republic who acted in a similar manner when they captured cities and came into possession of their works of art: they broke up the goblets to provide trappings for their horses or to emboss their helmets (Sat.xi.100-7).

Thus from the examples cited above it can be seen that Tacitus' statements in the Germania, in which he lauds the Germans' indifference to material possessions, present a contrast to the Romans of his day, whom both Tacitus and Juvenal feel have an obsession for material possessions and wealth.

There are two ways in which the Romans are affected by money and material possessions: they abuse their wealth by going to extravagant excesses, and their wealth brings out the vice of avarice.

Luxury is seen as an evil which was prevalent among Roman society. The Germans were indifferent to their amber until luxuria nostra gave a name to it, says Tacitus (Germ.45.5). Luxuria is considered



by the Britons as one of the motives of the Romans in dominating Britain (Agr.15.5). Tacitus denounces the extravagance that was rampant during the reign of Tiberius:

domi suspecta severitate adversum luxum qui  
immensum proruperat ad cuncta quis pecunia  
prodigitur (Ann.iii.52.2-4),

and praises Agricola for avoiding extravagance when as praetor he administered games (Agr.6.4). Juvenal, too, sees luxuria as a deadly pestilence:

saevior armis  
luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur orbem.  
(Sat.vi.292-3)

One specific aspect of extravagance is lavish tastes in food. Tacitus appears to praise the Germans' simple dining habits:

cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut  
lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis  
expellunt famen. (Germ.23.1)

In this description Tacitus would have in mind the magnificence (apparatus) and delicacies (blandimenta) of Roman banqueting habits. Tacitus paints a disgusting picture of the extravagant tastes of Vitellius:

epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido: ex urbe  
atque Italia inritamenta gulae gestabantur,  
strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus;  
exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes  
civitatum. (Hist.ii.62.4-7)

While Otho as emperor was preparing for war with Vitellius, some in Rome purchased showy arms and equipment, and the extravagant pomp of banquets (luxoriosos apparatus conviviorum) as if these were instruments of war (Hist.i.88.12-15).





Juvenal devotes a whole Satire,(xi), to the current fashion for gourmet delicacies purchased by those who spend their last sesterce or even borrowed money on extravagant eating. His moral in this Satire is, live according to your means (Sat.xi.35-38),and he offers his friend a modest, home-grown meal as proof that he himself follows his own advice, a meal which would be scorned by a ditch-digger who remembers the smell of tripe in the cook-shop (Sat.xi.80-1). Umbricius, Juvenal's mouth-piece in Satire iii, in complaining about his difficulties in keeping up with the high cost of living in the city of Rome, makes a comment on the pretentious living standards:

fictilibus cenare pudet. (Sat.iii.168)

Another aspect of extravagance is lavish tastes in wearing apparel. Tacitus emphasizes the simplicity of the Germans' dress: they wear a covering fastened with a pin or a thorn, and skins of wild beasts (Germ.17.1-2). The Germans' weapons are practical and their appearance in battle unostentatious:

nulla cultus iactatio. (Germ.6.2)

The Romans, on the other hand, have a penchant for ostentatious display, as seen in Calgacus' exhortation to the Caledonians concerning the Romans:

ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque  
argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat.  
(Agr.32.3)

Tacitus mentions the silk garments that men were wearing during Tiberius' reign, and which, in an act of the senate,were discouraged as wearing apparel (Ann.ii.33.4). Juvenal mocks Roman boastful display (cultus iactatio)in his detailed description of the pompous display of Roman magistrates:



quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis  
extantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi  
in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem  
ex umeris aulaea togae magnaеque coronae  
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?  
(Sat.x.36-40)

Wealth and material possessions tempt the greed of Romans,  
another thought Tacitus may have had in mind. He notes avarice as one  
of the Romans' motives for conquering Britain, when he reports the  
temper of the Britons prior to the revolt led by Boudicca. The  
Britons thought that,

sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis (sc. Romanis)  
avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. (Agr.15.5)

Tacitus mentions that in Britain pearls are found but of a dusky  
hue, and states that if a better quality of pearl were there, it  
would be found, since he would more easily believe in a defective  
quality of pearl than in a lack of greed in men (Agr.12.6,7). As  
quaestor in Asia, Agricola found the proconsul of that province  
in omnem aviditatem pronus (Agr.6.2). The men of Otho's fleet murdered  
Agricola's mother and plundered her estate, seizing a great part of  
her fortune which was the cause of the crime (Agr.7.1-2).

Juvenal, too, has many expressions of man's greed for gain,  
such as,

quando/ maior avaritiae patuit sinus? (Sat.i.87-8)

crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crevit, (Sat.xiv.139)

saeva cupido/ inmodici census. (Sat.xiv.175-6)

He sees the sea packed with avaricious merchants; there are more  
men at sea than there are on land, and he states:

spes lucri.                      veniet classis quocumque vocarit  
(Sat.xiv.277-8)



Men jealously eye others' possessions; Juvenal mentions that, during the reign of Nero, Longinus, Seneca and Lateranus lost their possessions, and he implies that a poor man is a safe one:

rarus venit in cenacula miles. (Sat.x.18)

Both authors mention Roman greed along with the poverty of subjected peoples. The Batavi on the frontier are free from the evils of provincial administration:

nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit;  
exempti oneribus et collationibus, (Germ.29.2)

and are reserved for war.<sup>1</sup>

The Frisii, being poor, were taxed in ox-hides and revolted not so much because of their insubordination as because of Roman rapacity: the Romans had begun to demand not just any size of ox-hides, but the thick hides of bulls (Ann.iv.72.2-3). The Britons complain that nothing is safe from the Romans' greed or lust:

legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. (Agr.15.2)

Juvenal states that the provinces had great wealth in republican days and could afford the extortion of Roman governors, but after great plunderers like Antony and Verres, little was left (Sat.viii.98-110). He implores provincial governors to restrain their greed, emphasizing the poverty of the allies:

expectata diu tandem provincia cum te  
rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,  
pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum. (Sat.viii.87-89)

Thus, Tacitus and Juvenal view wealth as having a deleterious effect on Romans who, as a consequence, indulge extravagantly in food and clothing, and avariciously desire more wealth.

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<sup>1</sup>Note here Tacitus' terms which emphasize the hardships that can be imposed upon Roman allies: contemnuntur, atterit, oneribus.





A target in Rome for men of avaricious instincts is the wealthy old man. The Germans, lacking wealth, also lack greed for wealth, and old age is welcome,

quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium  
numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus. (Germ.20.5)

Tacitus in this statement must have in mind the problem of old age in Rome that arises because of men's greed, since he comments on this subject in his other works. Because of greed old age in Rome is to be feared. Sextus Marius, the richest man in Spain, was murdered on a pretext:

ac ne dubium haberetur magnitudinem pecuniae malo  
vertisse, aerarias aurariasque eius, quamquam  
publicarentur, sibimet Tiberius seposuit. (Ann.vi.19.2-5)

Pallas was killed for a similar reason, quod immensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret (Ann.xiv.65.3-4). It was only by luck or energy that new men in the senate obtained a wealthy old age (Ann.iii.55.14)!

Juvenal also expresses this idea, that old age in Rome is difficult since men are greedy for another's wealth. An avaricious son impatiently awaits his father's death:

... iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,  
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.  
(Sat.xiv.250-1)

As an adjunct to the dangers incurred by old, wealthy men because of avarice is the evil of legacy hunting. In Germany there are no wills and the next of kin inherits, nor is there any reward for childlessness (nec ulla orbitatis pretia, Germ.20.5). Tacitus obviously has in mind the outrageous practices of captatores in his own day and society. He elsewhere (Hist.i.73.7-9) denounces this evil:



mox potens pécunia et orbitate, quae bonis  
malisque temporibus iuxta valent.

The Lex Pappia Poppaea proved ineffective; marriages and the rearing of children did not become more frequent, so powerful was the position of those who bore no children (praevalida orbitate, Ann.iii.25.4). Thus Tacitus is aware of, and mentions in his writing, the evil of legacy hunting as an extension of avarice.

Juvenal has several mentions of captatores. Rich old women are courted for their money;

cum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur  
noctibus, in caelum quos evehit optima summi  
nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae?  
(Sat.i.37-39)

Women without heirs (orbae) are greeted in the salutatio (Sat.iii.129-130). Juvenal notes the gourmet delicacies which are bought by captatores for their victims (Sat.vi.38-40; iv.15-19), and satirizes the extent to which captatores will go:

sentire calorem  
si coepit locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi,  
legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis  
porticus, existunt qui promittant hecatomben,...  
alter enim, si concedas, mactare vovebit  
de grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque  
corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum  
imponet vittas et, si qua est nubilis illi  
Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus.  
(Sat.xii.98-101; 115-119)

It is clearly demonstrated that both Juvenal and Tacitus satirize the evil of legacy hunting, prevalent in their own society.

An additional problem that money can pose for a society is that money-lenders often charge interest at exorbitant rates. According to Tacitus usury and even charging interest at all are unknown in Germany:



Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum;  
ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset.  
( Germ.26.1)

This statement seems unnecessary considering that the Germans (except for the few near the Rhine who use Roman coins for trade, Germ.5.4,5) have been said to possess no money. Therefore Tacitus must have a particular point to make about money-lending, namely, that attempts have been made to control it in his own society.<sup>1</sup> That interest rates were abused can be seen in the comment of Tacitus that Seneca was accused of exhausting Italy and the provinces with his high rates of interest (Ann.xiii.42.19-20). The Gauls, revolting under the leadership of Florus and Sacrovir, were aroused by their discussions of the continuation of taxation by the Romans and by the oppressive usury (gravitate faenoris, Ann.iii.40.11).

Tacitus refers to money-lending as an age-old evil in Rome:

sane vetus urbi faenebre malum et seditionem  
discordiarumque creberrima causa eoque cohibebatur  
antiquis quoque et minus corruptis moribus.  
(Ann.vi.16.5-7)

During the reign of Tiberius, accusers came forth attacking men qui pecunias faenore auctitabant (Ann.vi.16.2).

In this passage Tacitus traces the history of money-lending in Rome, and the laws introduced to control it, laws originating in the Twelve Tables and more recently enacted by the dictator Caesar. The praetor who brought before the senate the investigation into the matter of laws controlling interest rates being flouted by some Romans,

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<sup>1</sup>implied in the quam si vetitum esset.



found an embarrassed senate, who were unable to settle the matter objectively,

trepidique patres (neque enim quisquam tali  
culpa vacuus) veniam a principe petivere. (Ann.vi.16.14-16)

Juvenal also mentions money-lending and exorbitant interest rates. He satirically refers to a triple rate of interest (Sat.ix.7), and comments on Roman extravagance with respect to money:

conducta pecunia Romae  
et coram dominis consumitur. (Sat.xi.46-7)

In summary, Tacitus views the Germans as being untainted by money and material possessions while contrasting them to the Romans who are. Juvenal similarly feels that the contemporary Roman is obsessed by wealth and often personifies "money". Both authors view Romans as abusing their wealth by going to extravagant excesses and becoming avaricious. Roman greed is mentioned by both authors in a context in which this vice is contrasted to the poverty of those whom the Romans are dominating. As a further indication of greed, they observe that in Rome old age is fearful for those who are wealthy, because it brings with it the evil of legacy-hunting. Tacitus informs us that usury is unknown in Germany, and both authors deplore the fact that avarice in Rome has resulted there in unnecessarily high interest rates.

Although not specifically stating it, Tacitus likely considered that the Germans were not affected adversely by wealth and material possessions with all their attendant and corrupting influences, because they were a nation which hitherto had little contact with other peoples and had expanded very little beyond their own frontiers.





In a passage in the Annals Tacitus states more definitely this view as it applies to Rome, that extravagance was curtailed as long as Roman dominion was limited to the borders of Italy. When the senate referred to Tiberius the matter of extravagant spending Tacitus has the emperor remark:

cur ergo olim parsimonia pollebat? quia sibi  
quisque moderabatur, quia unius urbis cives  
eramus; ne inritamenta quidem eadem intra Italiam  
dominantibus. externis victoriis aliena,  
civilibus etiam nostra consumere didicimus.

(Ann.iii.54.13-17)

In a similar vein of thought, Juvenal states that fortuna humilis kept Rome chaste during the days of the Republic when women<sup>1</sup> s hands were chapped from handling wool and men were busy warding off Hannibal at the Colline gate; no crime was lacking when Roman poverty perished and foreign luxuries settled upon the city of Rome (Sat.vi.287-300).



## b) Acquisitive Women

Tacitus gives several details on the role of women in the Germanic society, and certain of them imply some criticism of his own society.

Just as Tacitus praised the Germans as a whole for not being affected by silver, gold, or material possessions (Germ.5.3), so he casually seems to infer that women in particular do not indulge in extravagant excesses. They wear the same clothing as the men do, or else a linen garment trimmed with purple (Germ.17.3). It is only because of Roman taste for luxury that the amber collected by the Germans is held at any value (Germ.45.5).

In the Annals, Caecina's proposal before the senate that wives not accompany their husbands to the provinces reveals many criticisms of women, one of which is their extravagances. Although these criticisms are spoken by Caecina, I feel that Tacitus is expressing his own feeling as well. Caecina remarks that a train of women converts a Roman army into the likeness of a barbarian progress:

inesse mulierum comitatu quae pacem luxu,  
bellum formidine morentur et Romanum agmen  
ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant.  
(Ann.iii.33.8-10)

Women are no longer restrained by the Oppian<sup>1</sup> and other laws regarding luxury. In reply to Caecina, Valerius Messalinus notes that, if women are left behind in Rome separated from their husbands,

sexum natura invalidum deseri et exponi  
suo luxu. (Ann.iii.34.22-23)

Replying in a letter to the senate when the matter of unrestrained

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<sup>1</sup>The Lex Oppia of 215 B.C. forbade women to own more than half an ounce of gold, wear multi-coloured dresses or ride in two-horsed vehicles in Rome. Oxford Classical Dictionary, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p.623.









Since the Germans are not affected by wealth nor interested in material things,<sup>1</sup> it can naturally be assumed that they are not avaricious. As has been shown above,<sup>2</sup> Tacitus and Juvenal both remark on Roman greed. Although Tacitus does not specifically mention in the Germania that German women are not avaricious, in the Annals he does mention avariciousness in Roman women. In the same senate debate in which women are criticized for their luxurious tastes, their greed is attacked. Caecina reminds the senate that when extortion charges are invoked, more charges are made against wives in this regard than against their husbands (Ann.iii.33.14-16). But Valerius Messalinus, who replies to Caecina's speech, advocates that governors should be allowed to spend their leisure time with their wives. He concedes however that:

at quasdam in ambitionem aut avaritiam prolapsas...  
corruptos saepe pravitatibus uxorum maritos.  
(Ann.iii.34-12-15)

Juvenal also remarks on women being particularly avaricious. He compares a rapacious wife accompanying her husband on his tours to a Harpy with crooked fingernails:

si nullum in coniuge crimen  
nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis  
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno. (Sat.viii.128-130)

The greedy wife has her husband buy at her whim:

-pueros omnes, ergastula tota,  
quodque domi non est, sed habet vicinus, ematur.  
(Sat.vi.151-2)

Thus both Tacitus and Juvenal are aware of and mention avarice as a vice displayed by the women in their society.

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<sup>1</sup>See above, pp.19 ff.

<sup>2</sup>p.25.



Yet another instance of the fact that German women are uncorrupted by material possessions can be seen in Tacitus' remark on the German dowry. This dowry consists of

munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. in haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert. (Germ.18.2-3)

While this exchange of armour emphasizes the warrior nature of German life, Tacitus' emphasis on the dowry not being adornments for the bride indicates his criticism of the extravagant and frivolous dowries in his own society. Juvenal makes reference to a bride's costly adornments when he discourses on money being the sole criterion for any advancement in Roman society:

quis gener<sup>1</sup> hic placuit censu minor atque puellae sarcinulis<sup>1</sup> inpar? (Sat.iii.160-1)

In Juvenal's society, dowry equals money. The love of Caesennia's husband derives from her rich dower, as does her freedom to do what she wishes:

bis quingena dedit. tanti vocat ille pudicam,...  
inde faces ardent, veniunt a dote sagittae.  
libertas emitur. coram licet innuat atque  
rescribat: vidua est, locuples quae nupsit avaro.  
(Sat.vi.137,139-141)

In summary, Juvenal and Tacitus both recognize that Roman women are extravagant and have a decided fondness for precious stones. Avarice is a trait present in their personalities, as seen particularly in the Satires. The Roman dowry is extravagant and frivolous and frowned upon by Tacitus and Juvenal.

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<sup>1</sup>J.D. Duff, op.cit., p.155, notes that the term sarcinulae mentioned here is often used as a sort of slang word for dowry.



### iii. Role of Women

In the Germania when discussing the dowry, Tacitus adds that the Germans' exchange of armour signifies the contract of the warrior's life which husband and wife will share along with its dangers:

...admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam,  
idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque. (Germ.18.4)

I feel that his emphasis here is on the word sociam, and that he is anxious to point out that German women closely share their lives with their husbands, perhaps implying that Roman wives do not do so.

Earlier in his treatise Tacitus states that the Germans' wives are nearby their husbands in battle, encouraging them to acts of bravery. The women's laments and the children's wailing are the men's greatest incentive to valour:

hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores:  
ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae  
numerare et exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et  
hortamina pugnantibus gestant. (Germ.7.4)

In his other works Tacitus indicates his approval of a wife discreetly assisting her husband in his career. The period described by Tacitus in the Histories, that is, from the year of the four emperors to the end of Domitian's reign, was not so barren of virtue that it did not display some good examples, states Tacitus. He gives as first instances of these laudable examples:

comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae  
maritos in exilia coniuges. (Hist.i.3.2-3)

In the Annals, Tacitus lauds the fact that Agrippina, Germanicus' wife, is faithful to her husband and controls her emotions.



ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate  
et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum  
vertebat. (Ann.i.33.12-24)

Livia is pictured in a good light as a wife, sanctitate domus priscum  
ad morem ... uxor facilis (Ann.v.1.12-14), and it is mentioned that  
she frequently accompanied Augustus when he visited the provinces.

quoties divum Augustum in Occidentem atque  
Orientem meavisse domite Livia! (Ann.iii.34.28-30)

The Roman wives described by Juvenal do not appear to be proper  
helpmates to their husbands. The only wives who are so are those who  
lived in the idealized republican days.<sup>1</sup> The adulterous wife of his  
own time is described as living as if she were her husband's  
neighbour (tamquam vicina mariti, Sat.vi.509), and is sea-sick when  
accompanying her husband at sea, but perfectly well when at her lover's  
side on board ship.

si iubeat coniunx, durum est conscendere navem. (Sat.vi.98)  
Juvenal describes a wife reminding her jealous husband of the  
agreement they had made about their marriage, that each partner be  
allowed to go his own separate way (Sat.vi.281-3).

Tacitus does not approve of a wife overshadowing her husband,  
nor indeed, does he approve of dominating women in general. This  
attitude can be seen in his comment on the Germanic tribe of the  
Sitones, who resemble the other tribes in all but one respect,  
that they are ruled by a woman (quod femina dominatur, Germ.45.9).  
Tacitus pungently concludes:

in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam  
a servitute degenerant.

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<sup>1</sup> Sat.vi.287-90, xiv.167-171.





Clearly, Tacitus likens to slavery subjection to the rule of women.

This concept is pursued elsewhere by the historian. The Batavi, repenting of having been stirred to rebellion by Civilis, reflect the undesirable dominance of women:

honestius principes Romanorum quam Germanorum  
feminas tolerari. (Hist.v.25.11-12)

Boudicca's leadership is portrayed in the Annals with neither condemnation nor commendation:

Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque  
nationem accesserat, solitum quidem Britannis  
feminarum ductu bellare testabatur. (Annxiv.35.1-3)

In the Agricola, he again remarks on Boudicca as queen.

Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim  
sexum in imperiis discernunt). (Agr.16.1)

Tacitus is not complimentary to Agrippina, the mother of Nero, when he describes her sharing Claudius' affairs and military duties:

novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam  
signis Romanis praesidere: ipsa semet parti a  
maioribus suis imperii sociam ferebat. (Ann.xii.37.15-18)

Tacitus describes women who display aggressive or domineering behaviour in such terms as dominandi avida, potestatis avida and potens. Having commended Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, for keeping in check her uncontrolled temper (animus indomitus<sup>1</sup>), Tacitus later attributes to her greed for power which he appears to consider a masculine trait. Tiberius has accused her of adultery, but Tacitus disallows this charge:

sed Agrippina aequi impatiens, dominandi avida,  
virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat. (Ann.vi.25.8-9)

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<sup>1</sup>Ann.i.33.12-14; see supra pp. 36-37.



One of Caecina's reasons for keeping wives at home while their husbands serve their terms in the provinces is that women, if unrestrained, become ambitious and greedy for power (potestatis avidum) and order the soldiers about. Caecina alludes to Agrippina's aggressive activities among the legions on the Rhine:

praesedis nuper feminarum exercitio cohortium,  
decursu legionum. (Ann,iii.33.13-14)

Calvia Crispinilla who instructed Nero in profligacy entered Africa to urge Macer to rebellion, thereby attempting to bring a famine upon Rome; because of her wealth and childlessness she was influential (potens<sup>1</sup>, Hist,i.73). Agrippina the Younger's greed for power is referred to as dominatio (Ann.xii.4.1;7.3;8.2), and is so used by Tacitus to foreshadow the principate of Nero.<sup>2</sup>

Juvenal, disapproving of domineering women, describes wives as controlling their husbands' expenditures (Sat.vi.212-13), and choosing their friends for them (Sat.vi.214-15). He concludes about this type of wife:

imperat ergo viro. (Sat.vi.224)

Juvenal is disdainful of the forward (audax) wife, who, mingles with the military leaders:

sed cantet potius quam totam pervolet urbem  
audax et coetus posset quae ferre virorum  
cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito  
ipsa loqui recta facie siccisque mamillis.  
(Sat.vi.398-401)

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<sup>1</sup>Livia is praised as being a good wife, but is termed a mater impotens (Ann.v.1.14),

<sup>2</sup>Herbert Benario, "Tacitus and the Principate", CJ, LX (1964),104-5.



In summary, both historian and satirist feel that a woman has a definite role; she should be a partner to her husband but should not overshadow him. They both frown upon overly aggressive or dominant behaviour on the part of women and upon women acquisitive of power.

Chastity is a quality of the German women which Tacitus admires. There is little adultery among this barbarian people (Germ.19.2), and the women live their lives in protected chastity (saepa pudicitia, Germ.19.1). The rarity of chastity within his own society becomes apparent when Tacitus makes special note of this virtue. Agricola's mother was of singular purity (rarae castitatis, Agr.4.2), and Agrippina is noteworthy in that she remained faithful to her husband (Ann.i.33.12-14). In earlier times, when oratory was held in honour and ancient precepts were revered, Messalla states that a son was born of a chaste parent (ex casta parente natus, Dial.28.4), in contrast to conditions in his own day.

Juvenal also notes that a chaste woman is rare. He feels that his friend will be extremely lucky ever to find a virtuous married woman (capitis matrona pudici, Sat.vi.49), or a wife of old-fashioned morals. He asks him:

quid quod et antiquis uxor de moribus illi  
quaeritur? (Sat.vi.45-6)  
porticibusne tibi monstratur femina voto  
digna tuo? (Sat.vi.60-1)

A chaste woman is said to be as rare as a black swan (Sat.vi.163-5) and Pudicitia is said to have lingered on earth during Saturn's reign and to have left along with Justice (Sat.vi.1-20) at the end of the Golden Age.





Thus both Juvenal and Tacitus make clear and deplore the fact that chastity is rare among their Roman contemporaries.

Tacitus cites the punishment among the Germans for prostitution: the woman's hair is cut off, she is stripped nude, and she is driven out of her home (Germ.19.2). No asset she possesses will allow her to remarry: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit (Germ.19.2).<sup>1</sup> Here Tacitus implies that some Roman women become brides because of their beauty, age or wealth. Because of her beauty Livia became Augustus' wife:<sup>2</sup>

exim Caesar cupidine formae aufert marito. (Ann.v.1.7-8)

Poppaea Sabina had three husbands and Tacitus remarks on her beauty and wealth:

huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum  
animum. quippe mater eius, aetatis suae feminas  
pulchritudine supergressa, gloriam pariter et formam  
dederat; opes claritudine generis sufficiebant.  
(Ann.xiii.45.6-10)

As Juvenal sees it, in Rome a woman is often made a bride because of her wealth (opibus):

'optima sed quare Caesennia teste marito?'  
bis quingena dedit. tanti vocat ille pudicam, (Sat.vi.136-7)

or her beauty (forma):

se verum excutias, facies non uxor amatur (Sat.vi.143),

or her age (aetate):

tres rugae subeant et se cutis arida laxet,...  
'collige sarcinulas' dicet libertus, 'et exi ...  
sicco venit altera naso.' (Sat.vi.144,146,148)

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. W.S.Beare, "Tacitus on the Germans", G.&R.XI (1964),69:

"When Tacitus gives praise to the German tribes who do not allow widows to marry, he is reflecting on the frequency of re-marriage in Rome.

<sup>1</sup>Of course her fecundity and ancestry were factors.



Tacitus points up a contrast to the immoral practices in Rome when he speaks of adultery among the Germans. His comments on this subject are:

severa illic matrimonia ... paucissima in tam numerosa  
gente adulteria ... nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec  
corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. (Germ.18.1; 19.2-3)

Punishment is swiftly meted out to the adulterous wife (Germ.19.2).

Tacitus elsewhere comments on adultery in Rome. He terms it a common fault among men and women (culpam inter viros ac feminas vulgatam, Ann.iii.24.7-8), and notes Messalina wearying of adultery and turning to strange excesses (Ann.xi.26.1-2). Messalla's arguments in favour of wives accompanying their husbands to their provinces include a statement that women are the weaker sex and if left alone would be exposed to their own temptations and masculine sensualities (cupidinibus alienis). He urges the senators to remember the immorality (flagitia) of the city of Rome (Ann.iii.34.22-27).

Tacitus condemns the immorality of Calvisius Sabinus' wife who

mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum, per  
noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias  
et cetera militiae munia eadem lascivia temptasset,  
in ipsis principiis stuprum ausa. (Hist.i.48.8-11)

In a similar manner, Juvenal satirizes adultery that appears to be widespread in his day. Adultery is an ancient and common practice:

anticum et vetus est alienum, Postume, lectum  
concutere atque sacri genium contemnere fulcri. (Sat.vi.21-2)

The Silver Age saw the first adulterers; all other crimes came later. A husband will procure for his wife (Sat.i.55-7); Messalina escapes to a brother at night,

ausa Palatino et tegetem praeferre cubili. (Sat.vi.117)



Women are so adulterous that Juvenal advises a husband to administer personally abortion-inducing potions for fear that the wife may give birth to a dark-coloured heir (Sat.vi.597-601).<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, adultery appears to be a frequent occurrence in the Rome which Juvenal and Tacitus view as corrupt. A point of similarity between the Germans and Romans is that women appear to be particularly blamed for adulterous behaviour. The Germans punish the woman, who is thereafter ostracised from the community (Germ.19.2) . In the works of both Juvenal and Tacitus more charges for adultery appear to be brought against women than against men (E.g. Ann.ii.50, ii.85; Sat.ii.63-70). Women are considered weaker and more prone to lustful urges. Compare the following:

simul sexum natura invalidum deseri et exponi  
suo luxu, cupidinibus alienis. (Anni.iii.34.22-3)

deterior totos habet illic femina mores. (Sat.x.323)

In addition, Tacitus links adultery and feminine vices (Ann.vi.25).

A passion for public entertainments is attributed to women by both Roman authors. Tacitus states that German women are not corrupted by the enticements of shows (nullis spectaculorum illecebris ... corruptae, Germ.19.1), thereby implying that shows can corrupt some women. The Germans have only one form of spectacle, nude boys leaping between swords and spears, but the women do not appear to be present at these shows (Germ.24.2). In the Dialogus de Oratoribus

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Sat.xi.176-8.



Roman mothers and a love for shows are linked:

propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in  
utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis  
favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia. (Dial.29.3)

Juvenal similarly emphasizes women's passions for the games and the theatre, gladiators and actors (Sat.vi.60 ff).

In any social criticism, birth control, abortions and the rearing of children are common themes. Among the Germans, birth control and abortion are considered criminal, as well as the putting to death of children born after the heir (Germ.19.5). Tacitus appears to approve of this ban on birth control and infanticide when he describes the Jews<sup>1</sup> similarly providing for the propagation of their race:

augendae tamen multitudine consulitur; nam et  
necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas. (Hist.v.5.12-13)

It is obviously desirable that one see to the propagation of one's race, but imperative if an important sector of a race is being threatened with extinction, as was the case in Rome. The nobility was becoming extinct and had been for some time.<sup>2</sup> As well as condemning abortion and birth control, both Tacitus and Juvenal regret that distinguished families are disappearing.

Augustus paid M. Hortensius Hortalus to marry and have children, so that a most distinguished family would not lack a successor (ne clarissima familia extingueretur, Ann.ii.37.5-6). Juvenal bewails

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<sup>1</sup>Otherwise Tacitus feels no admiration for the Jews (cf. Hist.v.5.1 ff.). Juvenal, too, makes fun of Jewish beggars (Sat.iii.13-16; vi.542-547).

<sup>2</sup>R. Syme, Roman Revolution, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p.445.





the fact that only the poor endure the pains of childbirth:

sed iacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto.  
tantum artes huius, tantum medicamina possunt,  
quae steriles facit atque homines in ventre necandos  
conducit. (Sat.vi.594-7)

Reference is made to pedicide (Sat.vi.627-33) and infanticide (Sat.vi.602-5).

Concerning the Germans' custom of practising no form of birth control, Tacitus sarcastically adds:

plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi  
bonae leges. (Germ.19.5)

He expresses similar thoughts in the Annals (iii.27.17):

corruptissima re publica plurimae leges.

Good habits are more effective in Germany, says Tacitus, than good laws elsewhere. Almost certainly he means in Rome. Tacitus, writing this in 98 A.D., may have in mind Domitian's attempts<sup>1</sup> at reviving the lex Iulia de adulteriis and his hypocritical flouting of the laws. In his introduction to the Histories Tacitus refers to Domitian's adulterous practices:

pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria. (Hist.i.2.12-13)

Juvenal also recalls this emperor's hypocritical deeds:

qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter  
concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras  
omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,  
cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam  
solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.  
(Sat.ii.29-33)

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<sup>1</sup>Martial, Ep.vi.4; in 89 A.D.,, S. Gsell, Essai sur le Regne de l'Empereur Domitien, (Paris: Thorin & fils, 1893), p.84.



The many abortions Domitian forced on his niece, Julia, brought about her death.<sup>1</sup> Continuing, Juvenal rhetorically asks:

'ubi nunc, lex Iulia, dormis?'  
atque ita subridens: 'felicia tempora, quae te  
moribus opponunt. habeat iam Roma pudorem:  
tertius e caelo cecidit Cato. (Sat.ii.37-40)

Juvenal's felicia tempora recalls Tacitus' augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, in speaking of Nerva who mingled two mutually exclusive things, principatus and libertas, (Agr.3.1).

Felicia tempora also recalls

rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis  
et quae sentias dicere licet (Hist.i.1.19-20),

Tacitus' sigh of relief after the repression of the Domitianic era.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Juvenal may have read and have had in mind Tacitus' phrases when he wrote felicia tempora.

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<sup>1</sup>Suetonius, Dom.22; Pliny, Ep.iv.11.6; Gsell, op.cit., p.239-240.

<sup>2</sup>The Histories were published in part by 105 and all by 109; R. Syme, Tac., I,118-120. Cf.Pliny's references in Ep. vi.16 and 20, in which Pliny supplies information about his uncle's experiences in connection with the eruption of Vesuvius as Tacitus had requested for use in his history. (Pliny's letter published 106) and cf.Ep.vii.33 (published 107): Auguror nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras. Recall Juvenal's reference to a recent history in Sat,ii.102-3. The first book of the Satires (Sat.i-v) is thought to have been published about 110; G. Highet, Juvenal the Satirist, p. 5; or 115-117, Syme, Tac.II,776.



Each German wife brings up her child at her breast:

sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis  
ac nutricibus delegantur. (Germ.20.1)

Tacitus praises similar republican habits:

nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente  
natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed  
gremio ac sinu matris educabatur. (Dial.28.4)

This laudable practice, women bringing up their own children, is  
reflected in Juvenal's description of the way men lived Saturno rege:

sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis (Sat.vi.9),

and his mention of the child-bearing wife of republican days

(Sat.xiv.167-8). Whereas in present-day Rome Tacitus mentions that  
nurses are employed:

At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae  
alicui ancillae<sup>1</sup> (Dial.29.1),

and Juvenal describes some women following pursuits other than  
child-rearing:

cumque paludatis ducibus praesente marito  
ipsa loqui recta facie siccisque mamillis. (Sat.vi.400-1)

Thus Tacitus expresses in the Germania and in his other works  
considerable criticism of birth control, abortion, and current  
practices in child-rearing in Rome. Juvenal expresses similar  
views in his Satires.

In summary, both authors feel that Roman wives fall short of being  
proper sociae to their husbands, and they condemn dominant, aggressive

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Juvenal's remark on nurses:

[hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae] (Sat.xiv.208),  
a line which is deleted by Jahn and felt by Duff (op.cit., p.429)  
to be out of place here.





women. A chaste woman is rare and adultery too common. Juvenal and Tacitus deplore birth control and abortion which were practised during their time, especially since they realize that the nobles are no longer replenishing their numbers. Both authors are critical of child-rearing, feeling that a mother should give her child personal attention. Thus, Tacitus expresses many criticisms of Roman women, in contrast to the behaviour of German women, as seen in the Germania; Juvenal shares some of these same sentiments in the Satires.



#### iv. Slaves and Freedmen

In the early empire slaves and freedmen had come to play a prominent part in private households and particularly in the emperor's court. Tacitus mentions Galba's freedmen as being too powerful (praepotentes) and his slaves as having hands which were greedy for the unexpected (manus subitis avidae, Hist.i.7.14). Concern for the increasing influence of these two social classes can be seen in the works of Juvenal and Tacitus.

In the Germania, Tacitus gives two aspects of the role which slaves play in the Germanic society. At one time the slaves would appear to share the same household as the freeborn natives, and the slave children are mentioned as being indistinguishable from the freeborn children (Germ.20.2); at another, Tacitus states that each slave lives in his own separate home and pays the owner rent (Germ.25.1). From the former comment one can see that the Germanic race, whose pureness was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, was untainted by foreigners since it even had no foreign slaves.

Tacitus elsewhere elaborates on the influx of non-Romans to the servant class of Roman households. When Cassius Longinus speaks in the senate on a man's household of slaves being executed when one slave killed his master, he emphasizes the extent to which foreign slaves have infiltrated Roman households;

postquam vero nationes in familiis habemus,  
quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra aut nulla  
sunt, conluviem istam non nisi metu coercueris.  
(Ann.xiv.44.13-15)



Juvenal criticizes the arrogant nature of the patron's servants towards his client in the fifth Satire in which he describes the abuses a client must endure when he dines at his patron's table. The client is served by what Juvenal calls a Gaetulan Ganymedes (Sat.v.59), while the patron has as his servant a flos Asiae (Sat.v.56). Juvenal's main theme here is the degrading experience of a client, but his minor points deal with interracial mixture and extravagance.

nescit tot milibus emptus  
pauperibus miscere puer, sed forma, sed aetas  
digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille?  
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?  
quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti  
quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.  
(Sat.v.60-65)

Juvenal here demonstrates that he disapproves of foreign, haughty slaves, bought at great expense, being employed in Roman households. To show that he is not a hypocrite in this respect Juvenal follows his own advice when he extends a dinner invitation to his friend: the meal is to be attended by native Italian boys who are unpolished (inculti,Sat.xi.146), very simply dressed, and inexperienced in carving (Sat.vi.143).

plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos  
porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus,  
non Phryx aut Lycius. (Sat.xi.145-7)

In conclusion, one of Tacitus' points about slaves in Germany is that they are native, implying that this is a good feature of that society. In the Annals Tacitus emphasizes that the body of slaves in Rome is composed of an assortment of nationalities, and Juvenal in turn resents black-skinned and eastern slaves filling the ranks



of Roman households.

Tacitus, by implication, issues a stern indictment of the inhumane treatment which slaves endure at the hands of Roman masters in his own day:

verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere  
rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate,  
sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. (Germ.25.2)

The senate is shown to reflect this inhumane attitude<sup>1</sup> when, following the speech of Longinus previously mentioned,<sup>2</sup> no one dared to oppose his views and speak on behalf of the many innocent slaves, four hundred in number, who were to be condemned. The opinion of those who favoured execution prevailed (Ann.xiv.45).<sup>3</sup>

Juvenal, emphasizing the cruelty of women, gives a portrait of an irascible woman who takes her anger out on her slaves,

... hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,  
hic scutica; sunt quae tortoribus annua praestent.  
verberat atque obiter faciem linit audit amicas  
(Sat.vi.479-81),

a portrait which is felt to reveal Juvenal's genuine sympathy with slaves.<sup>4</sup> Under the influence of the Stoic contention that all human

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<sup>1</sup>I. Kajanto, "Tacitus on the Slaves". Arctos, VI (1970), p.60, feels that Tacitus probably agrees with Cassius' speech, Ann xiv.43-44, for the death of the slaves of a murdered man. I do not, feeling that Tacitus emphasizes the fact that the slave populace was composed of many races and hence treacherous.

<sup>2</sup>p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>Also, Tacitus records stories of the fidelity of slaves, (Hist. i.3; Ann.xv.57), though this is a rhetorical commonplace. Kajanto, op.cit., p.58.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.54. Cf. Martial ii.66. J. Wight Duff, Roman Satire, (Cambridge, Cambridge U.P., 1937), p.142: "Martial shares Juvenal's hatred of cruelty in a mistress who could punish a slave girl barbarously for a trivial slight in dressing her owner's hair".





beings are of equal worth, in the first century of the Empire there arose a more humane attitude toward slaves, e.g. Seneca, Ep.xlvii.10:

vis tu cogitare istum quem servum tuum vocas  
ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo,  
aeque spirare, aeque vivere aeque mori!<sup>1</sup>

Juvenal echoes this Stoic doctrine, that slave and free were made of the same stuff:<sup>2</sup>

atque animas servorum et corpora nostra  
materia constare putat paribusque elementis.  
(Sat.xiv.16-17)

Thus both Juvenal and Tacitus give indication of a humane feeling towards slaves and of disapproving of their cruel and unjust treatment.<sup>3</sup> However, evidence can be found that Tacitus and Juvenal still retain the ancient attitude to slavery. Even the German slaves, though seldom punished, may be killed with impunity (Germ.25.2). For Tacitus the adjective servilis has a strong negative connotation, suggesting baseness of character. Juvenal himself has slaves when he invites a friend to dine (Sat.xi.142-158), but he emphasizes the fact that they are Italian (1.147) and untouched by the luxury of the age.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. also ibid. pp. 5 & 11.

<sup>2</sup>Kajanto, op.cit., p.55.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Horace, Sat.ii.2.65-67: hic neque servis ... saevus erit.

<sup>4</sup>Kajanto, op.cit., p.57. Ann.xv.54, xi.37; Hist.v.9.

<sup>5</sup>Pliny, though humane towards slaves, holds the same attitude as Longinus (Ann.xiv.43-44) towards slaves. Ep.iii.14; Sherwin-White, op.cit., p.84.



As well as commenting on the role of slaves in Germany, Tacitus particularly notes where freedmen have influence in German states. Both Juvenal and Tacitus resented the important role freedmen played in the imperial court and administration. That Tacitus was pointing up a contrast between the role of freedmen in Rome and Germany can be deduced from his comment, praising the insignificance of freedmen in Germany:

liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro  
aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate,  
exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. (Germ.25.3)

In states ruled by kings, the freedmen rise above the freeborn and nobles; among the remaining tribes, the inferior status of liberti is evidence of freedom (ibid.). When Tacitus says of the Suiones, among whom wealth is supreme, that only a slave guards their weapons, he emphasizes the dangerous influence freedmen might have:

enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne  
libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia  
utilitas est. (Germ.44.3)<sup>1</sup>

The power of liberti in the Roman state is again contrasted to the free foreign nation in which this social class has no weight:

Polyclitus, Nero's freedman, sent to Britain to establish a rapport between the governor and the procurator, and to pacify the rebellious natives, was a laughing-stock to the Britons,

apud quos flagrante etiam tum libertate nondum  
cognita libertinorum potentia erat, (Ann.xiv.39.7-9)

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<sup>1</sup>Pliny is also opposed to imperial freedmen (Ep.viii.6). In the Panegyricus he emphasizes the power of imperial freedmen prior to Trajan's reign: plerique principes ... libertorum erant servi (88.1); scis enim praecipuum esse indicium non magni principis magnos libertos (88.2).



and who marvelled to see a general (Suetonius) and army cringing to slaves.

Tacitus further denounces the power of freedmen in mentioning the occasion on which Africa yielded allegiance to Otho and an entertainment was given to the populace by Crescens, one of Nero's freedmen,

nam et his malis temporibus partem se rei  
publicae faciunt. (Hist.i.76.18-19)

Icelus, Galba's freedmen, has as much influence as the consul and the praetorian prefect, and had been given the rank of knight (Hist.i.13.2-4); Laco was among those who urged prompt action against Otho,

stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia  
in publicum exitium. (Hist.i.33.13-14)

Tacitus praises Agricola for making no use of freedmen or slaves for official business, (Agr.19.2).

Maternus complains of the declining influence of orators, sarcastically stating that the emperor's freedmen have as much power (Dial.13.4). Claudius is constantly guided by Narcissus who suggests to the emperor that he place the command of the soldiers in the hands of a freedman and audaciously offers to undertake it himself (Ann.xi.33). Tacitus emphasizes Narcissus' power: omnia liberto oboediant (Ann.xi.35.2).

Juvenal also presents a reaction to the excessive power of freedmen. He represents the freedman, who has amassed more than Pallas and the Licini (Sat.i.108-9), as preceding the Roman freeborn and magistrates in the line-up of clients before the patron's door:





sed libertinus prior est. (Sat i.102)

He depicts the client at dinner as having to vie with the patron's freedmen (Sat.v.28-9).

Both authors note the wealth amassed by freedmen:

septem a Neronis fine menses sunt, et iam plus  
rapuit Icelus quam quod Polycliti et Vatinii  
et Aegiali perdiderunt. (Hist.i.37.22-24)

sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi.  
(Sat.xiv.329)

ego (sc. libertinus) possideo plus  
Pallante et Licinis? (Sat.i.108-9)

However, Tacitus is aggravated by the influence of freedmen in the imperial court under degenerate or weak emperor s such as Nero, Claudius and Galba (Ann.xiv.13,14; Ann.xi.1; Hist.i.6), whereas Juvenal is pique at freedmen gaining wealth or influence over their social inferio , as noted above, perhaps having personally experienced this competition.

Therefore Tacitus has certain attitudes towards slaves and freedmen which Juvenal also holds. They resent foreign slaves in Roman households, disapprove of the cruel treatment some slaves endure, and deplore the influence and wealth gained by freedmen.



## v. Freedom of Speech

Tacitus extols the limited power of the German leaders:

nec regibus infinita ac libera potestas, et duces  
exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui,  
si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt, ceterum neque  
animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi  
sacerdotibus permissum. (Germ.7.1-2)

Here, I feel, he has in mind the Roman principate and the emperor's freedom to punish, since he emphasizes that the kings of the Germans do not have unlimited power and that only the priests are permitted to punish.

This concept can be seen in Tacitus' other works. When consulted about governors with bad reputations being excluded from holding office, Tiberius' argues that the emperor's authority should not be evoked to decide on eligibility for the governorship since there are laws to punish crimes and since

satis onerum principibus, satis etiam potentiae.<sup>1</sup>  
(Ann.iii.69.15-16)

Tacitus was deeply affected by Domitian's reign of terror:

Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta  
temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem  
publicam exhausit. (Agr.44.5)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Although Tacitus here perhaps has as his purpose to point out the attempts by Tiberius to give more authority back to the senate.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Pliny's comment on Domitian's reign of terror:  
cum saevissimi domini atrocissima effigies tanto victimarum  
cruore coleretur, quantum ipse humani sanguinis profunde-  
bat. (Paneg. 52.7)



Tyrannical emperors dissemble their true inner feeling;

Tacitus says of Domitian:<sup>1</sup>

praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et  
aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum  
denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus  
ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.  
(Agr.45.2)<sup>2</sup>

Juvenal also was shocked by the arbitrary power wielded by the  
princeps:

atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset  
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi  
inlustresque animas inpune et vindice nullo.  
(Sat.iv.150-152)

Vibius Crispus, knowing that he could not speak the truth, lived  
to the age of eighty safe even in the court of Domitian:

sed quid violentius aure tyranni,  
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimbo  
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici? (Sat.iv.86-88)

Thus, Tacitus in the Germania, by mentioning that the limited  
power of German kings, hints that Roman rulers have excessive,  
tyrannical power, and Juvenal, too, expresses fear of the immoderate  
power of the princeps. This theme of freedom of speech is peculiar  
to this era, and is not an echo of a previous satirist.

As an innuendo to the delatores at Rome the Germans are praised  
as being neither a calculating nor a shrewd race (gens non astuta  
nec callida). Free from tyrannical rule and the problem of the  
delatores, the Germans can be open with their thoughts (Germ.22.3,4)  
and Tacitus admires this fact.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Pliny's similar sentiment: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis,  
femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa.  
(Paneg.48.4)

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Hist.iv.86 and Ann.i.7.25-26.



Deploring the stifling of freedom of speech within his own society, Tacitus in harsh terms of condemnation describes the revival by Tiberius of the lex maiestatis and the beginning of the most serious ruin:

ut quibus initiis, quanta Tiberii arte gravissimum exitium inrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit cunctaque corripuerit, nascatur. (Ann.i.73.2-5)

Tacitus illustrates how the evil of delation arose: Caepio Crispinus became an informer, and

dedit exemplum, quod secuti ex pauperibus divites, ex contemptis metuendi perniciem alii ac postremo sibi invenere. (Ann.i.74.8-10)

The total absence of any interchange of ideas and the dread of informers during Domitian's reign is described in the opening of the Agricola:

et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. (Agr.2.3)

Tacitus calls informers

genus hominum publico exitio repertum et ne poenis quidem umquam satis coercitum. (Ann.iv.30.13-14)

Through the words of Maternus, Tacitus closes the Dialogus de Oratoribus with the thought that the principate has stifled eloquence (Dial.41), and libertas and principatus are termed res olim dissi-  
ciabilis (Agr.3.1).

Similarly, Juvenal deplores and satirizes the practices of informers. In Satire iv in which a meeting of Domitian's cabinet is staged, the huge mullet which Crispinus caught must be presented to the emperor:





quis enim proponere talem  
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo  
delatore forent? dispersi protinus algae  
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,  
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem  
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde  
elapsum veterum ad dominum debere reverti.  
(Sat.iv.46-52)

Even the banks and sea-weed (algae) are thick with informers, as the poet envisages it. In his introductory Satire, Juvenal explains that seeing delatores who bring about the destruction of the already-diminished nobility angers him and forces him to write satire (Sat.i.30-35). Men must join in their disapproval when the former imperial favourite falls from his position, or even their slaves might inform against them:

'... curramus praecipites et,  
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.  
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius  
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.' (Sat.x.85-88)

Therefore Tacitus alludes to Roman delatores in the Germania, discourses fully on the subject in his other works, and Juvenal similarly includes in his poetry many disparaging references to informers.

Tacitus praises the era after Domitian's reign, when he feels that freedom of speech is restored:

rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis  
et quae sentias dicere licet. (Hist.i.1.19-20)

He states that Nerva united libertas and principatus (Agr.3.1). In his preface to the Histories, Tacitus announced that he would write a history of Nerva and Trajan,

quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae  
et imperium Traiani, uberiolem securiolemque  
materiam, senectuti seposui. (Hist.i.1.17-19)



However, no such history materialized and Tacitus either died too soon or became disillusioned when his high hopes for true freedom went unfulfilled. Juvenal clearly states that he cannot speak freely of matters in his own age:

unde illa priorum  
scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet  
simplicitas? "cuius non audeo dicere nomen?  
quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?"  
pone Tigillinum, taeda lucebis in illa  
(Sat.i.151-155),

and restricts his allusions to those already deceased (Sat.i.170-1).

In Satire iv, in which Domitian's adulatory cabinet members are satirized, adulators like Veiento and Crispus are portrayed, but Nerva, who also survived the reign of Domitian, is not included among the emperor's councillors.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, evidence for the restriction on free speech and thought is provided from the writing of these two authors.

Because of the autocratic nature of the principate and the fact that a citizen's life depended upon avoiding informers and gaining the emperor's favour, those who wished to live long learned to flatter the emperor. As seen in the remark on certain German women being revered not for the purpose of being flattered or deified (non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas, Germ.8.3),<sup>2</sup> Tacitus criticizes the gross adulation practised by Romans. He again obliquely refers to adulation of the emperor in his society when he

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<sup>1</sup>Syme, Tac.I,6.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Hist.iv.61.9-11: veteres apud Germanos more, quo plerasque  
feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas.



mentions that the Gotones, Rugii and Lemovii have round shields, short swords and complaisance toward their kings as their outstanding qualities (Germ.43.6).

There is further evidence that Tacitus was aware of and disapproved of adulation in his own society. To ensure the proper execution of a will one had to leave in it a large legacy to the emperor (Dial. 13.6); for that reason Agricola made Domitian an heir:

tam caeca et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat,  
ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum  
principem. (Agr.43.4)

In relating tales of Vespasian's healing power, Tacitus states that people still attest these facts, after lying no longer was rewarded (postquam nummum mendacio pretium, Hist.iv.81.24-25), a further allusion to adulation.

The satirist realizes that freedom under an emperor is restricted and those who succeed have learned to flatter. Juvenal gives a sketch of the suspecting princeps and his fawning cabinet,

quos oderat ille,  
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat  
pallor amicitiae. (Sat.iv.73-75)

Adulation is further mocked; Umbricius complains,

Quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio (Sat.iii.41).

Thus through his inferences in the Germania and statements in the other works, Tacitus makes clear that he deplores adulation in Rome. Juvenal displays a similar attitude in his Satires in berating sycophancy.





## vi. Corrupt Rome

Both Tacitus and Juvenal, convinced that their own society is corrupt, assert in their writing that Rome is tainting other societies.

In the Germania, Tacitus emphasizes in several instances that corrupt Rome is corrupting the pure Germans, He states harshly that Rome has degraded the Germans with money:

iam et pecunia accipere docuimus. (Germ.15.3)

The kings of the Marcomani and Quadi "occasionally received our armed assistance, more often our financial, and it is equally effective"<sup>1</sup> (Germ. 42.2). The natives took little notice of the amber which long lay at sea,

donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. (Germ.45.5)

This idea, that the decadent Roman civilization is tainting other races, is also evident in the historian's other writings. In the Dialogus, Tacitus deplores the increasing influence of evil:

quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italia fusa,  
iam in provincias manat. (Dial.28.2)

In tracing the history of the Romans in Britain, Tacitus states that natives become vitiated:

didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis  
blandientibus. (Agr.16.4)

Agricola, though fostering the pax Romana, promoted luxury and introduced Roman ways; gradually the Britons yielded to the seduction of Roman vices<sup>2</sup> (Agr.21). At the time when Civilis was plotting to

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<sup>1</sup> transl. H. Mattingly, Tacitus On Britain and Germany, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1948), p.135.

<sup>2</sup> which are delineated as porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam (Agr.21.3).



revolt, the Batavian youth were corrupted by Roman generals,

rursus impubes et forma conspicui (et est plerisque  
procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. (Hist.iv.14.6-7)

Since Italicus lived in corrupt Rome, the Cherusci doubt his value  
as their leader,

cuius si filius hostili in solo adultus in regnum  
venisset, posse extimesci, infectum alimonio servitio  
cultu, omnibus externis. (Ann.xi.16.20-22)

Juvenal also expresses this idea, that Rome taints other, less  
corrupt nations. An effeminate Armenian yielded to a Roman tribune;

sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores. (Sat.ii.170)

Eppia ran off to Egypt and even Canopus condemned the morals of the  
city (Sat.vi.84). Juvenal has other mentions of Canopus: Crispinus  
whom Juvenal despises is a native of Canopus (Sat.i.26); the  
barbarous rabble of Egypt is not outdone in luxury by infamous  
Canopus (Sat.xv,46).

As well as stating that Rome is corrupting other societies, both  
authors contrast the corruption at Rome with untainted regions  
outside of Rome.

Throughout the Germania Tacitus by implication contrasts the  
uncorrupted barbarian society with the corrupt Roman civilization.  
The Germans are not affected by silver and gold, (5.3), are not  
intermingled with other races (2.1), have little adultery (19.2),  
forbid birth control and abortion (19.5), do not employ nurses(20.1),  
do not treat their slaves cruelly (25.2), are free to speak their  
minds without fear of reprisals (22.3,4), are not governed by  
tyrants (7.1,2), and are not adulatory (8.3). Their freedmen have



little influence (25.3). The Germans' good customs are more effective than good laws elsewhere (19.5).

Tacitus again contrasts pure non-Romans with corrupting Romans: the city mob applauded Nero on stage, but the out-of-towners, with strict morals, and foreigners unused to such wantonness, could not endure the spectacle (Ann.xvi.4-5).

Juvenal also expresses this contrast. In haranguing hypocrites and homosexuals, he states that the effeminate man (mollis) pleading in his thin garb is unfit to speak to the rustics from out of town (Sat.ii.73-4), and that those conquered by the Romans would never do what the Romans themselves do in their own city (Sat.ii.160-3).

Thus Tacitus states in his works, particularly in the Germania , that the corrupt Roman civilization is contaminating other, less corrupted nations or races. He contrasts this debased Roman society with other untainted regions. Juvenal similarly expresses like contrasts and makes parallel pronouncements on Rome's corruption.



### Conclusion

A study of the scant information available on the lives of Juvenal and Tacitus disclosed that the satirist was aware of the historian and his writing, and that they were contemporaries in Rome. Juvenal and Tacitus were born within a decade of each other, were in Rome early in their careers, and may have together attended Quintilian's school. Quintilian, Martial or Pliny may have provided a link through which Tacitus and Juvenal may have known one another personally. Juvenal did know Tacitus as an orator and an historian, and his poems provide evidence that Juvenal was familiar with the literary and family circle of Tacitus. Martial's Epigrams furnish evidence that Juvenal was in Rome shortly before and after the writing of the Germania.

I have recorded the similar ideas expressed by these two authors, topically, beginning with those from the Germania, adding corroborative expressions of those same ideas from the other works of Tacitus, and then comparing them with Juvenal's expressed sentiments on corresponding themes.

In many instances, Tacitus repeats in his other works remarks which he makes in the Germania on conditions in his own society, thus showing that these opinions in the Germania are strongly held views. Juvenal is found to express similar sentiments in the Satires.

Tacitus praises pureness of race and in the Germania appears to feel that the virtues of the Germans are due to their integrity as





a race. Juvenal attributes the evil and corruption in Rome to the mixture of races there. Both deplore the foreign element present in slaves in Rome, but disapprove of the cruelty which some slaves endure. They resent the role of freedmen, some of whom have great influence and wealth. Both writers make note of freedom of speech and delatores. The Germans are not affected by material possessions and money, in sharp contrast to the Romans who have been corrupted in this respect. Extravagance and avarice are two evils arising from the corrupting influence of wealth among Romans, and both Juvenal and Tacitus comment on these traits, as well as on legacy hunting and exorbitant interest rates.

Juvenal and Tacitus both satirize women who are avaricious, extravagant, and have a weakness for precious stones. Both disapprove of women who are dominant, aggressive, and not proper sociae to their husbands. Tacitus remarks on the rarity of chastity among the Romans, as does Juvenal. Both satirize adultery that appears to be common among Romans of their time, and both place the blame particularly on women. Women, too, are linked with a passion for public spectacles. Both writers condemn birth control and abortion among their contemporaries, and are critical of the way in which Roman women rear their children. Seeing Rome as corrupt, they both consider that she corrupts other untainted societies.

I have found that there are many similar views in the Germania of Tacitus and the Satires of Juvenal. Granted that such social criticism was perhaps common at the time, the fact that so many instances of similar ideas have been observed in these two authors, who were contemporaries and conceivably acquaintances, is of great interest. I find the number of parallel sentiments to be striking.



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### Appendix: Verbal Similarities.

The instances of verbal similarities between the two works involved are admittedly few since the starting point is a minor work of Tacitus. A full study of the verbal similarities which exist in the writings of these two authors would involve all of the works of Tacitus and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The similarities in thought with respect to social criticism between Tacitus' Germania and Juvenal's Satires have been discussed. There are, in addition, certain terms and phrases in both works which are worthy of note. The Germania was written in 98 A.D. as indicated by Tacitus' reference to the second consulship of Trajan which he held in 98 A.D.:

sescentesimo et quadagesimo annum urbs nostra agebat,  
cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello  
ac Papirio Carbone consulibus. ex quo si ad alterum  
imperatoris Traiani consulatum computemus, ducenti  
ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tam diu Germania  
vincitur. (Germ.37.2)

The terminus post quem in the Satires can be found in Sat.i.49, in Juvenal's reference to the trial of Marius Priscus, which occurred in 100 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The proximity of the two dates of publication becomes even more interesting when a few phrases from each work are compared.

Both Tacitus and Juvenal mention the physical characteristics of the Germans which were generally well-known. Granted that these characteristics were of common knowledge, the references of Tacitus and Juvenal to them warrants mention in a comparative study of this nature.

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<sup>1</sup>Pliny, Ep.ii.11.



In Tacitus are given the notable physical features of the Germans, which helped to set them off as a race pure and unique.

truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna  
corpora et tantum ad impetum valida. (Germ.4.2)

In Satire xiii Juvenal consoles Calvinus who complains that he entrusted a deposit to a man who later denied the trust and thereby embezzled the sum. One of Juvenal's arguments in his consolation is that such a theft should have been anticipated (Sat.xiii.16-18, 33-37), since crime in Rome is as common as swollen throats in the Alps and blue-eyed, fair-haired Germans:

caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam  
caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro? (Sat.xiii.164-5)

Also, Tacitus mentions the Germans' large, strong bodies<sup>1</sup>  
(magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida, Germ.4.2). Juvenal emphasizes the large physique of the Cimbrian tribe who were routed by Marius, after which his colleague, a noble, was laureated:

postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant  
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi.  
(Sat.viii.251-2)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Tacitus and Caesar (B.G.i.39.1, ii.30.4, iv.1.9), note particularly how large are the Germans in physique. Cf. Sherwin-White, op.cit., pp. 57-58: The Romans disliked the huge size of the Germans. Tac. Germ.20.1; Ann.i.64; ii.14.21; Agr.11.2; Livy 7.9, 8-10, 12. Strabo iv. 5.2; vii.1.2: the Germans vary from Celtic stock in being wilder, taller, and having yellower hair.

<sup>2</sup>Although Juvenal is emphasizing the enemy's might to indicate how great was Marius' victory.





In mentioning the characteristics of the Germans, the purpose of each author is different: Tacitus is writing an ethnographical work in which the physical description of this race is a necessary and integral part of his work, whereas Juvenal brings in the Germans as a rhetorical gesture to illustrate points which are subordinate to his main themes.

It was commonly known among the ancient Romans that the Germans had a curious habit of tying their hair in a knot. As examples I would cite Seneca,

rufus crines et coactus in nodum apud  
Germanos, (de ira iii.26.3),

and Martial,

Rhenique nodos. (Ep.v.37.8)

When describing the physical appearance of the Germans Tacitus does mention their fair hair, but refrains from mentioning this "knotted hair" detail (Germ.4.2). Instead, he chooses to mention it only in connection with one tribe of Germans, the Suebi, later in his work:

insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere ...  
apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentes capilli  
retorquentur, ac saepe in ipso vertice religantur.  
(Germ.38.2,3)

Juvenal too sets off separately and elaborates to some extent on this custom of the Germans' tying their hair in a knot, when he mentions their general physical characteristics,

et madido torquentem cornua cirro. (Sat.xiii.165)

As can be seen, Juvenal calls these knots "horns", which animals



use for fighting purposes. Tacitus explains in the Germania that this custom of the Germans was not for love-making (ut ament amenturve), but was designed for arousing fear in the enemy (Germ.38.4).

Thus Tacitus emphasizes and sets off in a separate paragraph the Germans' outstanding hair-do and its purpose, and Juvenal does the same.

Tacitus on several occasions in his treatise emphasizes the long-standing military might of the Germanic tribes (Germ.14, 30.3, 37). He mentions that it was in the year 640 A.U.C. that the Cimbrian arms were first heard of, and that reckoning from that date to Trajan's second consulship it is two hundred and ten years:

tam diu Germania vincitur. (Germ.37.2)

A prayer is issued for strife among the German tribes, since that is the only way, Tacitus implies, that Rome will escape the German peril (Germ.33.2).

Juvenal too lays stress upon the danger which the Germans presented to the Romans. He makes reference to Marius' rout of the Cimbri (Sat.viii.249-253), and connects the Cimbri with the greatest perils:

hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum  
excipit (Sat.viii.249-250),

describing Rome as full of fear (trepidantem, Sat.viii.250) during that danger. In addition, the Cimbri are termed frightful (terribiles, Sat.xv.124). Juvenal may have the Germans in mind in the passage in which he states that one rightly despises the Rhodian and Corinthian, and must avoid Spain, Gaul, Illyria, and Africa, but



curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat  
fortibus et miseris. (Sat.viii.121-122)

All their gold and silver may be taken away from them, but they still will have their armament (scutum gladiumque relinques, Sat.viii.122-123). Juvenal indicates a war-like people ready to rebel, such as the Batavi, who are called conquered (domiti, Sat.viii.51), and who revolted under Civilis in 69 A.D. (Hist.iv.12 ff.).

There are two verbal similarities which would not necessarily be commonplace in the literary writers of the day, but which could likely be more specifically related to Juvenal and Tacitus. These similarities involve the term framea and the two phrases, nemo enim illic vitia ridet (Germ.19.3) and sed illic ... ridet / nemo (Sat.xiii.171-3).

Among the weapons used by the Germans is the framea. Tacitus states:

hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt. (Germ.6.1)

This term, framea, appears in antiquity in the works of three authors<sup>1</sup>: Tacitus (Germ.6.1 & 2, 11.6, 13.1, 18.2, 14.3, 24.1). Aulus Gellius (N.A.x.25.2)<sup>2</sup>, and Juvenal (Sat.xiii.79), where Juvenal tells of the man who disavows that a sum of money was left in his trust, swearing by the sun's rays and the Tarpeian thunderbolt and Martis frameam. In this context, in discussing a crime which is typical of Roman behaviour, Juvenal uses a term which refers to a distinctive weapon of the

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<sup>1</sup>A. Gudeman, op.cit., p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Here Gellius includes frameae in a list of weapons found in the early histories, naming Naevius and Ennius.





Germans (Tacitus states hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas).

Thus, although both authors again have a different purpose in mind, Tacitus simply using framea as the technical term for one of the weapons of the Germans, Juvenal showing his learning by employing an erudite term, it is noteworthy that framea is found in both the Satires and the Germania, and that, with the exception of Aulus Gellius, the term is extant only in the period in which Tacitus and Juvenal lived.

In chapter 33 of the Germania Tacitus formulates a prayer for the division of the Germanic tribes,

quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam  
praestate fortuna maius potest quam hostium  
discordiam. (Germ.33.2)

Juvenal employs a phrase similar to Tacitus' phrase, urgentibus imperii fatis, when he describes the innocent soldier of republican days who broke up expensive goblets to provide trappings for his horse or a helmet engraved with an image of the Romulean beast who grew tame through the empire 's destiny (imperii fato, Sat.xi.105).

Even more interesting is the comparison of two passages, Germ. 19.3 and Sat.xiii.171-3. In the former passage, in describing the Germans' mores with respect to chastity and adultery, Tacitus states:

nemo enim illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et  
corrumpi saeculum vocatur. (Germ.19.3)

Three of the words in this phrase, nemo enim illic vitia ridet, can be seen again in Juvenal's Satire xiii, just after his mention of the Germans' blue eyes, golden hair, and twisted locks, which



Juvenal implies are as common in Germany as crime is in Rome (Sat.  
xiii.159-165); if one saw a pygmy warrior snatched up by a crane in  
one's own race, one would laugh,

sed illic,  
quamquam eadem adsidue spectentur proelia, ridet  
nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.  
(Sat.xiii.171-3)

The context of vice and the phrase, sed illic ... ridet / nemo,  
immediately following Juvenal's mention of the blue-eyed, fair-  
haired Germans may bear a resemblance to the phrase in the Germania  
nemo enim illic vitia ridet.









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